2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally. It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-roarer (figs. 52, *e*; 55) and to attend rites from which

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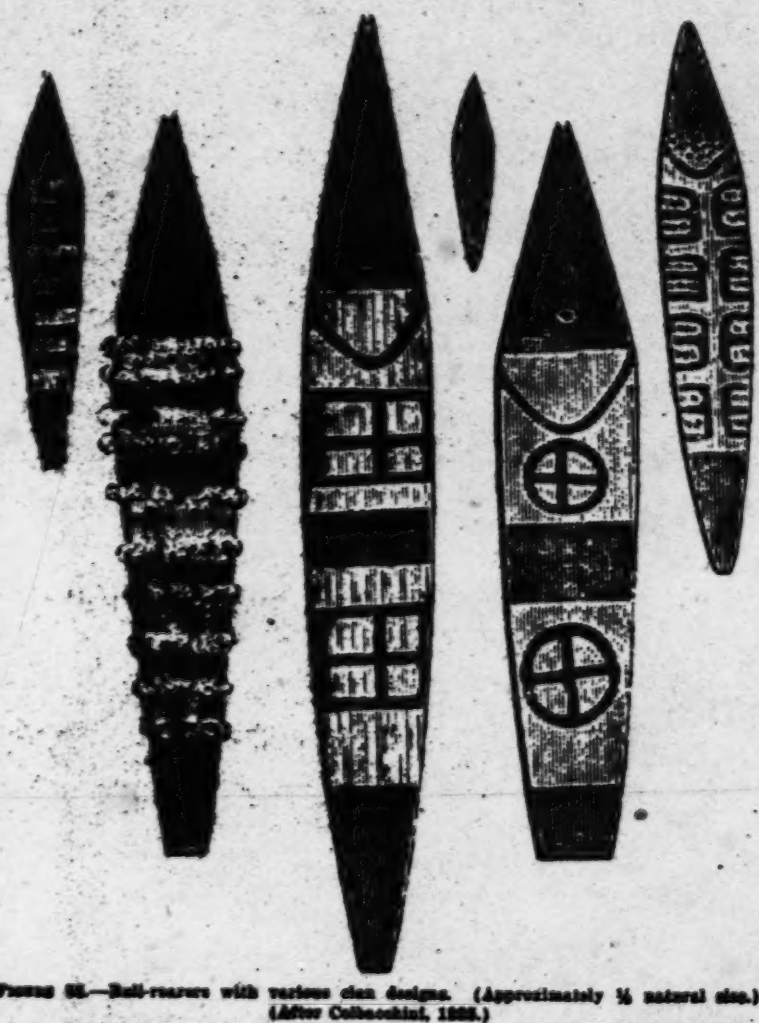

FIGURE 52.—Bull-roarers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

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[616]

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him.

[827]

844 899 828 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child [844 846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any 593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the 846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain [224 duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After 226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunting 261 or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat, 276 drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but 515] 593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing 827 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the 846 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but [824 only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother 252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she 593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin 846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a [291 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. 292]

553 this statement, but if we look at the lineage structure and ideology, things become clearer. For example: Kaigu was the founder of one lineage in the clan of Bokodori Echerae. He had many names, but the one used most often was Kaigu. Theoretically he should have transmitted five or six of his clanic names to his nephew, the first born son of his eldest sister (utuye boetojiwudo onaregedu imedu boetojiwu: lit., "his older sister/ the first born one/ her child/ the first born one"). When Kaigu became old he left it to his nephew to perform most of the ceremonial duties, and when he died his nephew became the head of the lineage. He inherited all the rights, the duties, the place of the house in the village, and the names of the dead Kaigu. Then he is Kaigu,
827 he has a nephew, and the story repeats itself. Any living Bororo is considered to be not only the descendant of a long line of ancestors but also identical to all of them. When I wondered about some contradictory deeds ascribed to the great chief Baitogogo in the myths, my informant explained to me that there were many Baitogogo: one did this, the other did that. On another day, when I did not understand the name of a particular hero mentioned in the myth, he pointed at a man passing by and said, "He did it!" For the passerby had the same name as the hero. Thus conceptually the Bororo consider themselves equivalent to their matrilineal ancestors.

553 Today, as the Bororo population is dying out, occasion-
178 ally a child does not have any classificatory brother from

among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvagedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 [421] It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: [illegible]rido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections [illegible]n aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge 614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu- 825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a 827 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

614 goatsucker), kochaga (rail), okiwareu (mouse), arigaodoge
825 choreuge and kujagureuge (black and red dogs), Aroya (a
827 spirit), Jakomea (a spirit), butore (a rattle made with peccary hooves), tugo (arrow), Kuyade Tugojiriye (a spirit), maridogwarege (a bird), korao (parrot), kuje (curassow), piodudu (hummingbird), ivagudu (blue crow), and perhaps bokwaru (fog) and pobo (water). Certain lineages of the Ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items:

613 "People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of kitariga and
825 konoriqi" (Boe egore: Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariga
827 otoji, konoriqi otoji). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from kitariga (a variety of grasshopper) and konoriqi (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

"People say that:

Aroya Kurireu	originated	from	itubore mogodoge[1]
Tadugo	"	"	maridogwarege (a bird)
Araru Kurireu	"	"	beto kigadu maerewu (sprout of buriti palm)
Jakomea Kuwada	"	"	kowaqije (an insect that lives on the water)
Koge Ebowu	"	"	bapore (a bird)
Jakomea Attugo	"	"	ruye (frog)."

[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of itubore mogodoge; he thought that maybe they meant marido (buriti palm) in poetic language.

613 The Bororo are very reluctant to talk about the ances-
827 tors of certain lineages because they are not proud to be the descendants of those ancestors. They are mentioned only in
124 quarrels as an insult. I was able to collect some of these
613 examples only by provoking one of my informants. He was from
827 the Kurugugwa lineage of the Apiborege clan, and I told him that there was a rumor that the true Kurugugwa had died long ago and the present members of the Kurugugwa lineage were just impostors. Furthermore, I said, the Bororo were saying that the Apiborege could not take care of one of their younger brothers, so the Ivagududoge (in which clan I was named) had had mercy upon him and accepted him as one of their own. My informant gave me his theory about what had really happened in this case and then went on to say that my own clan had a lot of things to hide. An example:

613 827 "Meri defecated on some stones. His feces changed into a goatsucker (mokureabo), nay, a true Ivagududoge. Therefore their (Ivagududoge's) mouths are big, and their heads are big. And the people say that their village lies on the rocks."

As we see from this example, alleged characteristics of people in the different clans are explained by relating them to traits of their animal ancestors. Another example:

[825] "People say that the Kiye originated from the monkeys; therefore their arms and legs are skinny; therefore their skin is black; their

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1 "Awu meri pegodure pariri keje. Ure nowu pore mokureabodo pudumi. Boe kimorema iya Ivagududoge rabode. Duwugere eya kurichigore, etaya boa kurichigore. Duwugere boe egore 'ewororo paduye pariri keje'."

613
827
[825] faces are black."[2]

613 At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in
827 which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is de-
578 scribed: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena piiiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

614 Most names of the clans are also derived from some of
827 the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825] "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.

"When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido).[2] But then the Bororo made their name prettier."

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

614 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Arorce Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."[1]

614 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant
827 armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black
825 tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir with red fur).

616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

[1] "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemegaguragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

616 their companions), for their companions Aroroe, their companions Paiwoe, their companions Apiborege. Thus the name of all these people is Tugarege."[1]

Tugo (arrow) is the ancestor par excellence of the Ivagududoge, but by dividing the arrows among their moiety "brothers," the Ivagududoge shared their ancestor with the other clans of their moiety.

The name of the other moiety, Echerae, is not derived from any ancestral item. Meri (the sun) is supposed to have given the name to the Echerae in one song. My informants said that the word did not have other denotations. "Owners of the songs," the meaning given in the Enciclopédia Bororo (p. 438), also has to do with singing, and this fits well with the general characteristics of the Echerae moiety, as will be shown later.

827 The equivalence of ancestors and descendants explains the old controversy about whether or not the Bororo believe they are macaws (Von den Steinen, 1894: 512; Levy-Bruhl, 1966: 62; Vygotski, 1962: 71-72; Geertz, 1966: 37-38; Barnes, 1969: 614 98). Red macaws (nabure), with which, according to Von den 616 Steinen, the Bororo claim identity, are the ancestors of the 827 Aroroe. On the other hand, one myth tells how the Bokodori Echerae threw themselves into the fire and became red macaws

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1 Awu Tugarege, Tugarege eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Awu Ivagududoge emagere etogeadure tugoji chaje. Eigoyare ichare ere tugo kogu kado tumedagei, tumeduya Aroroei, tumeduya Paiwoei, tumeduya Apiboregei. Du kodire ichare eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Oino."

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities, participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into subclans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and subclans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In reporting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ancestors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers. The division is not restricted only to animals; many other beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differentiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

614 (black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary
562 hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an
822 aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea);
827 ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujaqureu (red arrow), butore kujaqureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female[A] and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujaqureu and tugo kujaqureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodáre (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

[A] [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

822 796 237 302 614 822 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. [825] For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 796 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Araroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Araroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Araroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 827 421 825 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrepancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 796 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 162 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world, 261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 178 164 262 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today many young men and women have already lost a large part of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the [827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 177 797 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers, the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 177 Many adults and also children still have the decorated pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia 301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen. 302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

B /352 cont./
772 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and
811 let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse,
that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in
B the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because
[186] they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in
B all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this
[171] same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó
BO maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for
[827] hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable
to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the
Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river
and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied.
I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the
Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their
B neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them
[186] to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we
might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the
Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes
that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals,
and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with
BO strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that
772 they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death,
811 /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the
[775] araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their
relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they desig-
nate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that
it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give them-
selves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a
772 habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead
811 are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and
[171] similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which
easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among
our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the
basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears,
nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/510 cont./

765 one deceased waits for the next and the two leave the village together. Again no one seemed to pay any attention to them, and one would have thought two baskets of mandioca were being carried away. But soon four young people came along rather hurriedly and followed them into the forest: the first was swinging a whizzer stick; the second and third uttered loud cries of terror; the fourth cleared a broad path behind him with a palm leaf in order to obliterate the footprints and make it difficult for the dead to return. No woman was to be seen. One also carried a hoe /Hacke/. The baskets were buried, it was believed, on a small island lying upstream.

● 827 Soul and existence after death. For a person who is awake, there is action at a distance, which reminds one of our belief in ear-ringing. On the Kulisehu Tumayaua said to me once when I sneezed that my wife was calling me and that she was said because I had not yet returned. On a similar occasion, the very same thing was maintained by the Bororó; another time, when I stood beside an Indian woman and sneezed, she immediately asked me the names of my relatives: "What is your mother's name? Your brother's? Your brother-in-law's?"

774 828 The "soul" is called búpe. In the dream it leaves the body. The fear of waking up one who is sleeping was clearly expressed. Even Clemente believed that it was very harmful. It also has its advantages, however, as we once saw in the ranchão. Wilhelm [754] wanted to draw a sleeping man. Now this seemed to be the greater evil, apparently because one could practice sorcery with the picture; the Bororó generally resisted Wilhelm's efforts, but, on the other hand, they were pleased later when he showed them portraits made surreptitiously. In any case, the drawing of this sleeping man seemed hazardous to them. They wanted to waken him, and, when I prevented them from doing so and criticized them, /511/ they also tried surreptitiously (by spitting and throwing little pieces of wood) to achieve their purpose.

I do not know the exact meaning of búpe. During the dream, the soul flies away in the shape of a bird. Then it sees and hears many things. What the waking person reported is firmly believed.